

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDE-00 /083 W

----- 022730

O R 171900Z OCT 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1232

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0477

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: FRG REDRAFT OF PARA 3BIS

REF: BONN 16981 (DTG 161712Z OCT 75)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: FRG FORMULATION FOR PARA 3BIS IN REFTTEL IS AN IMPROVEMENT OVER PREVIOUS FRG VERSIONS. HOWEVER, IT STILL CONTAINS THE CLEAR AND CATEGORICAL POINT, APPLICABLE TO BOTH PHASE I AND PHASE II, THAT "REDUCTIONS IN NON-US ALLIED NUCLEAR, AIR OR OTHER EQUIPMENT ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST," TOGETHER WITH OTHER LESS IMPORTANT FORMULATIONS REINFORCING THIS POINT. INCLUSION OF THIS POINT WHETHER IN THE GUIDANCE ON OPTION 3 OR THE SUPPLEMENT COULD CAUSE SERIOUS NEGOTIATING DIFFICULTIES IN VIENNA. SOONER OR LATER, THE CONTENT OF THE SUPPLEMENT WILL EMERGE.

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WE THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT THE US URGE THE DELETION OF THIS

CONCEPT, WHICH CAN BE READILY CARRIED OUT THROUGH MINOR MODIFICATIONS IN THE FRG TEXT. END SUMMARY.

2. WHILE WE UNDERSTAND THE UNDERLYING FRG EFFORTS TO USE OPTION 3 CONSULTATIONS TO NAIL DOWN IN ADVANCE AS MANY PHASE II ISSUES AS POSSIBLE, WE BELIEVE THAT, IN THIS MATTER, THEY ARE OVER-REACHING THEMSELVES AND THAT THE NEGOTIATING CONSEQUENCES WILL NOT BE IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS. GIVEN THE ALLIED APPROACH TO PHASING FROM THE OUTSET OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, THE WARSAW PACT WILL UNDERSTAND, ALTHOUGH IT WILL CERTAINLY NOT APPROVE, THAT THE WEST REFUSES TO REDUCE NON-US ARMAMENTS IN PHASE I. IN THE SAME SENSE, THE PACT WILL ALSO UNDERSTAND IT IF WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES REFUSE TO UNDERTAKE ANY COMMITMENTS FOR REDUCTION OF WESTERN ARMAMENTS AS REGARDS PHASE II AND STATE FLATLY THAT THEY ARE NOT PREPARED TO DISCUSS ANY ASPECT OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS OTHER THAN THE ALL PARTICIPANTS FORMULA.

3. BUT WHAT THE EAST WILL NOT UNDERSTAND AND WILL NOT ACCEPT ARE HARD AND FAST STATEMENTS FROM WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES THAT EVEN IN PHASE II THERE WILL BE NO REDUCTIONS OF WESTERN EUROPEAN ARMAMENTS. WARSAW PACT SUSPICIONS AS TO WHETHER THERE ARE GOING TO BE ANY WESTERN EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS AT ALL IN MBFR OR ANY PHASE II OUTCOME ARE ALREADY HIGH. CATEGORICAL AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS WHETHER MADE IN THE NAME OF THE ALLIES OR BY INDIVIDUAL ALLIED PARTICIPANTS, THAT THERE WILL BE NO WESTERN EUROPEAN ARMAMENTS REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II COULD WELL BE THE FINAL STRAW AS REGARDS EASTERN WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER THE WESTERN PHASING APPROACH AT ALL. THE NET RESULT MAY WELL BE AS WE HAVE POINTED OUT THAT THE EAST WILL REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY FIRST MBFR AGREEMENT WHICH DOES NOT CONTAIN A FULL COMMITMENT BY WESTERN EUROPEANS ON THEIR REDUCTIONS IN THAT SAME AGREEMENT.

4. THE PROBLEM IS INTENSIFIED BY THE FACT THAT IT IS UNNECESSARY FOR THE FRG IN ORDER TO PROTECT ITS INTERESTS TO GO THIS FAR. IT WOULD BE PERFECTLY ADEQUATE FOR WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES TO MAKE THE POINTS SET FORTH IN PARA 3 ABOVE. MOREOVER, WE THINK THT VIEWED OBJECTIVELY, IT REALLY IS AN ERROR FOR THE ALLIES TO MAKE THEIR DECISIONS ABOUT PHASE II

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BEFORE THEY HAVE SEEN WHAT KIND OF OUTCOME THE PHASE I NEGOTIATIONS WILL HAVE.

5. FOR THESE REASONS WE RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING CHANGES IN THE PROPOSED FRG TEXT:

A. THIRD TIC, INSERT "US" BEFORE "NUCLEAR".

B. THIRD TIC, INSERT "PHASE I" BEFORE "NEGOTIATING."

C. FOURTH TIC, ADD "IN PHASE I" AFTER "TO THE WEST."

D. FINAL SENTENCE, INSERT "ADVANCE" BEFORE THE WORD
"COMMITMENTS."

E. FINAL SENTENCE, INSERT "ANY NATO ARMAMENT" BEFORE
THE WORD "REDUCTIONS."

F. FINAL SENTENCE, SUBSTITUTE "FOR" FOR "IN."

G. POSSIBLY, ADD NEW FINAL SENTENCE AS FOLLOWS:

"IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ABOUT NATO ARMAMENTS REDUCTIONS
IN PHASE II, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD TELL THE EAST
THAT IT IS PREMATURE TO DISCUSS ANY ASPECT OF PHASE II
BEYOND WHAT THEY HAVE ALREADY SAID ON THE TOPIC."

6. FRG DRAFTERS APPEAR TO HAVE GONE SOMEWHAT OVERBOARD
IN THE USE OF THE TERM "COLLECTIVELY" IN THE LAST TWO
SENTENCES OF THEIR PROPOSED TEXT. ALL STATEMENTS CONTAINED
IN THE GUIDANCE WILL BE MADE ON BEHALF OF ALL ALLIED
DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

7. AS A LAST RESORT, IF THESE CHANGES HAVE BEEN TRIED
AND ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG, WE WOULD PROPOSE ADDING
THE PHRASE "IN PHASE I" TO THE FOURTH AND LAST TIC AND
FOLLOWING IT WITH THE FOLLOWING NEW TIC. BEGIN TEXT:
THE ALLIES DO NOT ENVISAGE REDUCTIONS IN NON-US ARMAMENTS
IN PHASE II. HOWEVER, THEY WILL NOT MAKE A FINAL DECISION
ON THIS POINT UNTIL IT CAN BE CONSIDERED IN THE CONTEXT
OF OVERALL WESTERN DECISIONS ON PHASE II." OTHER

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CHANGES WOULD BE AS SUGGESTED ABOVE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, AGREEMENT DRAFT, TEXT, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 OCT 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MBFRV00477
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750361-0304
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751043/aaaabmed.tel
Line Count: 157
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 BONN 16981
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <11 APR 2003 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <17 SEP 2003 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: FRG REDRAFT OF PARA 3BIS
TAGS: PARM, GE, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006